

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Talking points prepared for
 NIO/Europe, who is preparing talking points
for the DCI.

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EUR M84-10187

N10/EUROPE

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Q: How will things look in six months?

A: Not much different from the way they look now except that there may be some more disappointment that the regime has missed another opportunity to create a national consensus.

Comment: In freeing the remaining political prisoners Jaruzelski has taken another calculated risk, similar to those he took earlier in releasing internees (including Walesa) and in formally ending martial law. He believes he is dealing from a position of strength. Each of these previous actions can be attributed to several motives: 1) He is interested in reestablishing economic relations with the West and 2) Martial law and political prisoners do not fit into how he believes the system should run or seen to be run. He is counting on the proven capability of the security services to control and monitor anti-regime activity. In addition he is probably counting on the fact that after the initial euphoria has died down, those released will find there is little enthusiasm for active open opposition activity. He will tolerate a certain amount of activity--contributions to the underground press, small group consultations, and participation in some efforts to create a "parallel society." Broader efforts that would leave the public impression that Solidarity lives--largescale "reunions" or efforts to reestablish links with the workers will not be tolerated. We believe he is willing to put people back in jail for political activities.

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The key question concerns how far the Solidarity 11 and others will go in challenging the authorities. Those previously released, including Walesa, have generally trod a very careful course.

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In the next six months we would not be surprised to see several of the 11 essentially drop out of political activity on the pattern of the former TKK leader Hardek from Krakow. We would not expect any of them to go underground since that line of march has generally been discredited. That means that most will undertake activities on the fringes of legality, testing the officials' tolerance of overt activity. For their efforts, they will be subjected to intense surveillance and a variety of forms of harassment, possibly including 48 hour detention. There will be much debating and discussion of future action, some of it carried out in the underground press and some in personal contacts. In the process, Walesa's status as symbolic leader will probably be questioned. The most important subject of debate may, however, be whether opposition activity should be funneled through the legal unions. The debates probably will demonstrate that they do not see any immediate prospects for achieving their goals of union pluralism but that they must prepare for some indefinite time in the future when conditions will be ripe.

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